



## Valence Adjusting Operations in Modern Uyghur



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### Abstract

Valence has been considered as both a semantic and syntactic notion in linguistic study. Through valence adjusting, interchanges between semantic roles and grammatical roles would happen to facilitate the language. For example, increasing of syntactic valence can upgrade a peripheral participate to center stage of the clause. Languages typically have various ways of adjusting valence of a clauses. As is the case for many languages, Uyghur possesses rich morph syntactic means through which the valence of a clause can be changed. Uyghur adjusts valence through voice, as it is one of kinds of universal operations to adjust valence. However, being an agglutinative language, Uyghur exhibits many morphological means to adjust valence. This paper analyzes valence adjusting operations in modern Uyghur grammar.

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## 1 Introduction

Valence is the number of participants in semantic sense; it is the number of arguments, in grammatical sense, in given clause. Adjusting valence results in changing the numbers of the arguments of a verb in a clause. Changing of valence leads to an understanding of alternative arrangements of grammatical relations, e.g. different marking patterns, verbal changes or word order. Change in the valence of a sentence aims to achieve certain semantic or pragmatic effect of discourse. Increase of valence in the sentence will upgrade a peripheral participant to center stage. Through this operation one can achieve the goal of emphasizing different arguments within the clause in discourse. Decrease of valence, however, oppositely down play a normally center-stage participant to peripheral status or eliminating an argument altogether from the sentence, only preserving the argument which one put the most emphasize on (Aissen, 1979; Baker, 1988; Croft, 1991).

Every language has operations that adjust the relationship between semantic roles and grammatical roles. The most familiar device in traditional grammar which has a role in adjusting this relation is voice. In an active voice semantic role AGENT is always appeared to be subject of the sentence, while passive voice puts semantic role PATIENT in a subject role of sentence, sometimes with eliminating original AGENT (Dixon & Aikhenvald, 2000; Dossoumou et al., 2018).

## 2. Results and Discussion

Valence adjusting operations we are dealing with in this paper refers to adjusting of grammatical valence of a clause in modern Uyghur. In traditional grammar, valence adjusting operations are mostly considered under the heading of “voice”. Though most operations that change valence of clause can be realized by alternation of voice, some of the operations are beyond the scope of voice alternation. Thus, it seems necessary and promising to treat these operations in a single group of a grammar sketch (El, 2018; Fischli et al., 1998; Givón, 2001).

### Valence increasing operations

#### *Causatives*

Causatives are the linguistic representation of the conceptual notion of causation (Payne, 2011). Causative adds a causer, who instigates the event expressed by the basic verb, either by direct coercion, or more indirectly by giving an order or admitting a certain course of affairs. Some versions of causative are found in nearly every language, and many languages have more than one type of causative (differing morpho-syntactically and often also in their finer semantic aspects). According to Bybee (1985), the causative is the most common valence-changing category in her world-wide sample of 50 languages (Guo, 2018; Handel, 2012; Payne et al., 2016).

Causatives involve morphologically productive change in the form of the verb (Payne, 2011). This case is also true for modern Uyghur. Modern Uyghur is rich in verb morphology. In modern Uyghur all transitive and intransitive verbs can undergo causative changes and through this change it will adjust the valence of the sentence.

-DUr, -GUz, -(U)t are the most productive causative suffixes in modern Uyghur (Hussein & Dawood, 2018).

- 1) a. *alim öl-di.*  
Alim die-PAST-3SG  
Alim died. (Intransitive, non-causative)  
Valence pattern: AGENT = subject
- b. *ähmät alimni öl-tür-di.*  
Ähmät alim-ACC die-CAUS-PAST.  
Ähmät killed Alim. (Transitive, casuative)  
Valence pattern: AGENT=subject  
PATIENT= object
- 2) a. *kiçik bala yat-ti.*  
Small child lay down-PAST

The child lay down. (Intransitive, non causative)  
Valence pattern: AGENT=subject

- b. *ana kičik balini yat-quz-di.*  
Mother small child lie-CAUS-PAST  
The mother let the child lie down. (Transitive, causative)  
Valence pattern: AGENT=subject  
PATIENT= object

In the causative events, if caused event is intransitive, the causative is transitive, e.g. example above. If the caused event is transitive, the causative is bitransitive.

- 3) a. *Kiçik bala bulmaq ye-di.*  
Small child milk-powder eat-SPST3SG  
The child ate milkpowder. (Transitive, non-causative)  
Valence pattern: AGENT=subject  
PATIENT= object
- b. *ana kiçik baliğa bulmaq ye-güz-di*  
Mother small child-DAT milkpowder eat-CAUS- SPST3SG  
'The mother fed the child milkpowder'.(transitive, non-causative)  
Valence pattern: AGENT=subject  
PATIENT= object  
RECIPIENT=oblique

In example (3a) object is downplayed by valence adjusting operation, i.e. causative, and became oblique in (3b). However, causative suffix for these kind of transitive verbs in Uyghur sometimes is just one sometimes are multiple.

- 4) *u bali-si-ya tapşuruq işle-t-küz-di.*  
His child-POSS3-DAT homework make-CAUS-CAUS-SPST3SG  
'He made his son to do homework.'  
Valence pattern: AGENT=subject  
PATIENT= object  
RECIPIENT=oblique

Interestingly, this kind of constructions in Uyghur may result to ambiguity in proposition of sentence when it comes to the direct and indirect involvement of subject in the event. A solution to disambiguate is to use of lexical causative operations, i.e. use of the imperative verb “-buyurmaq”.

- 5) a. *u bali-si-ya tamaq ye-güz-di.*  
he child-POSS3-DAT food eat-CAUS-SPST3SG.  
'He fed his child food' or , 'He let his child eat food'
- b. *u bali-si-ni tamaq yeyiş-ke buyri-di.*  
he child-POSS3-ACC food eating-DAT command-SPST3SG  
He command his child to eat food.
- 6) a. *u bali-si-ya tapşuruq işle-t-ti*  
He child-POSS3-DAT homework do-CAUS-SPST3SG  
'He let his child to the homework'. (May be he is sitting with his child to supervise child with homework or just told child do the homework).
- b. *u bali-si-ni tapşuruq işleš-ke buyru-di.*

he child-POSS3-ACC homework doing-DAT command-SPST3SG  
 ‘He commanded his child to do homework’

In example (5a) it is not very explicit whether “He” made his child to eat food or he fed his child by himself. In (6 a) it is not clear whether he helped his kid with the homework or he just told him to do his homework. (5b), (6b) disambiguates this information (Johanson, 2013; Kpohoue, 2018; Párraga et al., 2018). Unlike other grammatical categories of verbs, as valence increasing operation, causative marker in Uyghur verb morphology exhibits slightly different features. In 84 percent of the languages in the world, valence is a derivational operation, while in 6 percent it is inflectional (Payne, 2011). Causative markers of Uyghur verb are considered inflectional in traditional grammars. But there are some suffixes are not very productive, they are unique to very limited number of verbs (Payne, 1997; Ramos et al., 2018; Wilson, 1990).

- 7) *kör-sät*  
 See-CAUS  
 ‘to show’
- 8) *čiq-ar*  
 Come out-CAUS  
 ‘make it get out’

#### Case change

In Uyghur, there is particular verb that can bear two different case markings for the same argument. Verb “-min” (ride on) can combine with accusative and dative case marking in non-subject argument (Yakup, 2005; Vintzileos & Egan, 1995). When the case of argument shifts from dative to accusative, it brings peripheral participant onto center stage by making it into a direct object. In this sense shifting of case marker on the argument of this verb also could be considered as a valence increasing operation.

- 9) a. *u at-qa min-di.*  
 he horse-DAT ride-SPST3SG  
 ‘He rode on the horse.’  
 Valence pattern: AGENT=subject  
 RECIPIENT=oblique
- b. *u at-ni min-di.*  
 he horse-DAT ride-SPST3SG  
 ‘He rode on the horse.’  
 Valence pattern: AGENT=subject  
 PATIENT=object

#### Reflexivization

In reflexivization, the notion of coreference is crucial (Kemmer, 1993). In reflexive construction two participants, subject and object, in a single event frame are the same entity. In Uyghur, reflexives can be coded by both morphological and analytical means. In morphological way of coding reflexives, transitive verbs attain reflexive form by attaching the suffix -n, -in, -un, -ün, -ul, -ül, -l, -il to verb stem.

- 10) a. *u daim özi-ni maxta-ydu*  
 he always self-ACC praise-SPR3SG  
 ‘He always praises himself.’  
 Valence pattern: AGENT=subject  
 PATIENT=object  
 (AGENT and PATIENT are the same entity.)
- b. *u daim maxti-n-idu.*

he always praise-REF-SPRE3SG  
 ‘He always praises himself.’  
 Valence pattern: AGENT=subject

In analytical way of reflexive, reflexive pronoun “öz” (self) would take object constituent of sentence. This is an analytical reflexive because the presence of the reflexive operation is expressed via a lexical word that is distinct from the verb morphology (Payne, 2011).

- 11) a. *bala manga özi-ni at-ti.*  
 kid to me self-ACC throw-SPST3SG.  
 ‘The kid throw himself to me.’  
 Valence pattern: AGENT=subject  
 PATIENT= object  
 RECIPIENT=oblique

In Uyghur, some verbs that took reflexive and passive form are isomorphic. In such cases, they could be distinguished according to their meaning in the sentence.

- 12) a. *biz-ning bay-diki gül-lär eç-il-di.*  
 us-GEN garden-LOC flower-PL blossom-REFL-SPST3SG  
 ‘Flowers in our garden have blossomed.’  
 Valence pattern: AGENT=subject
- b. *bügün bir chong yiyin eç-il-di.*  
 today a big meeting open-PASS-SPST3SG  
 ‘There is a big meeting today.’

There are several derived verbs with the suffixes that identical to reflexive suffixes. For example: *ötün- <öt-ün, oylan-coyla-an*; However, these verbs can not be considered reflexive verbs since they do not have reflexive meaning semantically (Bender & Lange, 2001; Paqué & Peters, 2011). Most of them are intransitive. Even they used in transitive occasions, AGENT and PATIENT of the verb are not the same entity.

- 13) *män bu iş-ni köp oylan-di-m.*  
 I this matter-ACC a lot think-PAST-1SG  
 ‘I think a lot about this matter.’  
 Valence pattern: AGENT=subject  
 PATIENT= object

### Reciprocals

Reciprocal construction is very similar conceptually to a reflexive. Reflexive construction is one in which two participants equally act upon each other, i.e., they are equally AGENT and PATIENT at the same time (Coppola et al., 2013; Meredith, 1998). Similar to the reflexive, reciprocal creates reduced valence due to coreferentiality and lack of individuation. In modern Uyghur reciprocals are realized by attaching suffixes -š,-iš, -uš, -üş to the verb stem.

- 14) *ular uzaq sözle-š-ti*  
 they long talk-RECI-SPST3  
 ‘They talked for a long time.’  
 Valence pattern: AGENT=subject
- 15) *ähmät bilän qasim yügür-üş-ti.*  
 Ähmät and qasim run-RECI-SPST3

‘Ähmät and Qasim ran together.’  
Valence pattern: AGENT=subject

In Uyghur some verbs express reciprocal meaning internally; they are allowed not to take reciprocal suffixes listed above. These verbs optionally allow an overt pronominal expression of anaphor. Usually this pronoun is formed temporarily by numerals.

- 16) *alim bilän Aygül bir-birini söyi-du.*  
Alim and Aygül each other-ACC love-AOR3SG (Aorist)  
‘Alim and Aygül love each other.’  
Valence pattern: AGENT=subject  
PATIENT: object

### Passives

Passives works by removing the AGENT argument in the construction. Uyghur has several passive suffixes which attach to transitive stems to form intransitive stem. The AGENT argument that had been linked to subject is suppressed, and the argument formerly linked to object is linked to the subject of the derived intransitive. Passive forms of verbs in Uyghur are formed by attaching suffixes (Gray, 2012; Yang & Targ, 1998).

-n, -in to transitive verb stems ended with “-l”, or by attaching suffixes -l, -il, -ül, -ul to other verb stems.

- 17) a. *dihqan-lar küzlük hosul-ni yiy-di.*  
Farmer-PL of autumn harvest-ACC gather-PST3  
‘Farmers gathered the harvest of autumn.’  
Valence pattern: AGENT=subject  
PATIENT= object
- b. *küzlük hosul yiy-il-di.*  
of autumn harvest gather-PASS-PST3  
‘The harvest of autumn has been gathered.’  
Valence pattern: AGENT=subject

Transitive verbs are detransitivized by passive suffixes. In such cases the derived intransitive denotes a general activity or quality; in other cases, the patient in the event is clear from context but specific mention of the AGENT is avoided by using passive form.

- 18) a. *artis-lar oyun-ni başli-di.*  
Performer-PL performance start-PST3  
‘Performers started the performance’  
Valence pattern: AGENT=subject  
PATIENT= object
- b. *oyun başla-n-di.*  
performance start-PASS-PST3  
‘Performance has been started.’  
Valence pattern: AGENT=subject
- 19) *u-ning maşini-si oyirla-n-di.*  
he-GEN car-ACC stole-PASS-PST3  
‘His car is stolen.’  
Valence pattern: PATIENT=subject

In some situations, AGENT is also salient in the passive construction if it is an animate AGENT or a institution; noun that refers to the AGENT is combined with the preposition “täripidin”(by) to form an adverbial modifies.

- 20) *turmuş pul-i-miz hokümät täripidin ber-ili-du.*  
daily life money-POSS1PL government by give-PASS-AOR3  
'Daily expenses are offered by government.'

This kind of construction could be explained from the perspective of discourse function. In this case, there is necessity to put direct object on the topical position, while AGENT is also needed to be mentioned.

#### *Object demotion and omission*

In construction that some verbs have AGENT and PATIENT arguments, PATIENT argument remains suppressed either because it is well related to the verb in people's mind or it is known that any one of a range of entities can fill that argument position (Xu et al., 2008; Zhang et al., 2008). In modern Uyghur, the verb “-iç” (to drink) is such kind of verb that in discourse if it appear without its object argument, especially when it has auxiliary verbs with it, it means usually “alcohol drinking”.

- 21) *qaq sähärädä içi-wal-ding-mu nemä?*  
just morning drink-AUX-2SG-  
'Have you drunk right in the morning?.'
- 22) *bali-lar sirt-ta oyna-wat-i-du.*  
kid-PL outside-LOC play-AUX-AOR3  
'Kids are playing outside.'

In example (22) any kind of game can be object argument of the sentence, but the identity of the P argument here is totally irrelevant, thus it can be omitted. In Uyghur, due to verb agreement, personal information is always overt in the verb predicate form. Thus, this feature allows in most cases for omission of personal subject.

- 23) a. *qačan käl-di-ng?*  
when come-PST-2SG  
'When did you come?'
- b. *Tünügün käl-di-m.*  
yesterday come-PST-1SG.  
'I came yesterday.'

In the sentences above, omission of subject constituent does not have impact on semantically valence of sentence, but leading decrease in the grammatical valence of the sentence.

#### *Noun (subject) incorporation*

Noun incorporation is where a core argument (subject or object) of a clause becomes “attached to” or “incorporated into” the verb (Payne, 2011). In Uyghur verb compound “oyri al-” (to stole) still can be set apart, but it demonstrates grammaticalization as Noun incorporation. When this verb compound is set apart, “oyri” is subject and AGENT in the sentence, and sentence contains overt object as PATIENT. When this structure in incorporated form object takes the subject role resulted missing of PATIENT.

- 24) a. *oyri päqät zibu-zinnät-lär-ni-la ap-tu.*  
thief just jewelry-PL-ACC take-PST3  
'Thief only took jewelries.'  
Valence pattern: AGENT=subject  
PATIENT= object
- b. *zibu-zinnät-lär-ni oyri ap-tu.*

Jewelry -PL-ACC stole-PST3  
'Jewelries are stolen.'  
Valence pattern: PATIENT=subject

### 3 Conclusion

The notion of valency has received extensive treatment in the linguistics literature. I set out in this paper to examine the valency of Uyghur verbs and to investigate the morphosyntactic ways in which the valency of verbs can be modified. As an agglutinative language, with complex morphology, Uyghur tend to be more morphological than lexical and analytical in valency adjusting process. Verbs in Uyghur can undergo a reduction in the expression of their arguments through reflexivization, the use of reciprocals, anticausatives, various forms of object omission and noun incorporation. Increase in verb valency is achieved through causativization and case shifting (Danga, 2015; Nehe et al., 2018).

From what has been presented in this paper, it is obvious that in Uyghur there are more valency decreasing morphosyntactic strategies than those used to increase valency. This attempt of research outlined more universal ways of adjusting valence in Uyghur. Operations and examples above do not exhaust all measures that used in Uyghur for valence adjusting. However, this topic needs to further be investigated in order to contribute to our further understanding of the notion valency and related grammatical operations.

#### *Conflict of interest statement*

The author declared that he have no competing interest.

#### *Statement of authorship*

The author have a responsibility for the conception and design of the study. The author have approved the final article.

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